

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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O P 180052Z FEB 78
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9655
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 0590

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORC, CD, ET, SO, XF
SUBJ: BRIEFING ON MIDDLE EAST OF AMBASSADOR TROYANOVSKY; HIS
INCIDENTAL COMMENTS ON CHAD AND THE HORN

REF: STATE 031717 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: BEFORE LEONARD CONVEYED TO TORYANOVSKY SUBSTANCE OF REFTEL ON PRESIDENT SADAT'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON, TORYANOVSKY COMMENTED THAT AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN NOW HAS INSTRUCTIONS TO MEET WITH SECRETARY VANCE ON HORN. TORYANOVSKY SAID HE WOULD LIMIT HIS REMARKS TO REPEATING THE SOVIET POSITION OF OPPOSITION TO A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING. ON UPCOMING SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE ON CHAD/LIBYAN HOSTILITIES, TORYANOVSKY INDICATED INTEREST IN POSSIBILITY OF AVOIDING OR POSTPONING THE DEBATE. TORYANOVSKY DUCKED OUR QUERY ON CUBAN DISTINCTION BETWEEN AN "INVASION" AND A "BORDER CROSSING" IN SOMALIA. END SUMMARY.

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2. AMBASSADOR LEONARD CALLED ON SOVIET PERMREP TORYANOVSKY FEBRUARY 16 PRIMARILY TO REVIEW ESSENCE OF STATE 031717 ON SADAT'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON. TORYANOVSKY OPENED THE CONVERSATION BY INFORMING US THAT DOBRYNIN NOW HAS INSTRUCTIONS TO CALL ON THE SECRETARY TO DISCUSS THE HORN. TROYANOVSKY ADDED THAT HE PREFERRED NOT TO REVEAL THE CONTENTS OF THE INSTRUCTIONS UNTIL AFTER DOBRYNIN'S APPOINTMENT WITH THE SECRETARY.

TROYANOVSKY COMMENTED THAT WE WRE OF COURSE FAMILIAR WITH THE SOVIET POSITION NOT TO TAKE THE HORN QUESTION TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

3. TURNING BRIEFLY TO CHAD/LIBYAN ITEM BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL, TORYANOVSKY SAID HE DID NOT CONSIDER IT WITHIN THE FUNCTION OF THE PRESIDENCY (USSR PRESIDENT FOR FEBRUARY) TO ADVISE CHAD NOT TO PRESS FOR SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING. TORYANOVSKY COUNSELED THE CHAD FOREIGN MINISTER TO DISCUSS MATTER WITH THE AFRICAN GROUP. LEONARD NOTED THAT WE WERE ALSO SUGGESTING TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER TO DISCUSS THE MATTER WITH HIS AFRICAN COLLEAGUES AND OTHERS. THE CHAD FOREIGN MINISTER WAS APPARENTLY NOT ADEQUATELY INFORMED ON SECURITY COUNCIL PROCEDURES. TORYANOVSKY AGREED THAT AT MINIMUM THE FOREIGN MINISTER WOULD WANT TO MAKE A STATEMENT TO THE COUNCIL TO PUT CHAD'S CASE ON RECORD. TROYANOVSKY WONDERED WHETHER THERE WAS NOT CONSIDERABLE MERIT IN ATTEMPTING TO AVOID OR TO POSTPONE THE COUNCIL'S TAKING UP THIS ITEM.

4. AFTER LEONARD CONVEYED SUBSTANCE OF REFTTEL TO TROYANOVSKY, LATTER QUERIED WHETHER THE POSITIONS OF SADAT AND THE U.S. WERE THE SAME ON THE WEST BANK AND SELF-DETERMINATION. LEONARD RESPONDED THAT WHETHER SADAT CAN ACCEPT THE SAME LANGUAGE THAT WE COULD REMAINS A QUESTION. SADAT CONTINUES TO REQUIRE THE PHRASE "SELF-DETERMINATION" WHEREAS OUR POSITION ON THIS WAS EXPRESSED BY PRESIDENT CARTER AT ASWAN. EGYPT HAS NOT ACCEPTED THAT THE ASWAN FORMULATION DOES NOT

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MEAN A SEPARATE STATE.

5. TO TORYANOVSKY'S FURTHER QUERY WHETHER THE U.S. POSITION DID NOT PROPOSE A CHOICE BETWEEN A WEST BANK LINKED WITH JORDAN OR AN AUTONOMOUS STATE WITHIN ISREAL, LEONARD NOTED THAT PRSIDENT CARTER INDICATED THAT WE DO NOT SUPPORT THE CONCEPT OF A SEPARATE STATE. LEONARD ADDED THAT A VARIETY OF FORMULAS PROVIDING FOR INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA FOR A PERIOD OF TIME WOULD BE WOTH FURTHER EXAMINING. WE ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO A TEMPORARY, INTERIM SOLUTION ON THE WEST BANK. THE ADVANTAGE WOULD BE THAT AFTER A PERIOD OF LIVING SIDE-BY-SIDE ISRAEL'S FEARS WOULD SUBSIDE. TORYANOVSKY WONDERED WHETHER ISRAEL'S NATIONALISTIC/IDEOLOGICAL FEELINGS WOULD EVER ALLOW IT TO RELINQUISH THE WEST BANK. LEONARD OBSERVED THAT PERHAPS MOST ISRAELIS WOULD TRADE THE WEST BANK FOR PEACE, BUT NOT A PALESTINIAN STATE FOR PEACE.

6. CONVERSATION CONCLUDED BY LEONARD'S CALLING ATTENTION TO BALTIMORE SUN ARTICLE FEBRUARY 17 QUOTING THE CUBAN HEAD OF LIAISON OFFICE IN WASHINGTON AS REMARKING PUBLICLY ON THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN AN INVASION OF SOMALIA AND A BORDER CROSSING. CUBAN TROOPS WOULD NOT ENGAGE IN AN INVASION BUT THERE COULD BE A BRODER CROSSING. TROYANOVSKY SAID

HE COULD NOT COMMENT ON THIS AND MOREOVER HE WAS SURPRISED THAT THE CUBAN DIPLOMAT WAS DISCUSSING CUBAN FORCES IN ETHIOPIA. LEONARD POINTED OUT THAT THE CUBAN TROOPS IN ETHIOPIA HAVE INCREASED TO WHERE THERE ARE SUCH LARGE NUMBERS THAT IT IS ONLY HONEST TO ACKNOWLEDGE THEM. TORYANOVSKY REMARKED HE WOULD REPEAT WHAT THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN SAYING CONTINUOUSLY, VIA., THEY HAVE NO REASON TO DOUBT THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT'S ASSURANCES THAT THEY HAVE NO INTENTION OF CROSSING THE FRONTIER INTO SOMALIA.

LEONARD

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